

Issue XII (2026)

The Cult of Zeus and the Possible Location of Its Sanctuary at Antiokheia Paralios

Mehmet OKTAN

 0000-0003-2968-8497

Mehmet TEKOC AK

 0000-0002-6923-4230



The entire contents of this journal, *Libri: Journal of Epigraphy, Translation and Review* is open to users and it is an 'open access' journal. Users are able to read the full texts, to download, to copy, print and distribute without obtaining the permission of the editor and author(s). However, all references to the articles published in the e-journal *Libri* are to indicate through reference the source of the citation from this journal.

Libri, is a peer-reviewed journal and the articles which have had their peer reviewing process completed will be published on the web-site (journal.phaselis.org) in the year of the journal's issue (e.g. Issue XII: January-December 2026). At the end of December 2026 the year's issue is completed. The journal is indexed by Scopus and EbscoHost.



Responsibility for the articles published in this journal remains with the authors.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Citation Oktan M. & Tekocak M. 2026, "The Cult of Zeus and the Possible Location of Its Sanctuary at Antiokheia Paralios". *Libri* XII, 189-207. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.23756971

Received: 07.09.2026 | Accepted: 04.10.2026

Available: 29.10.2026

Type: Research Article

Editing: Phaselis Research Project
www.libridergi.org



Received: 07.09.2026
Accepted: 04.10.2026
Available: 29.10.2026
Type: Research Article

LIBRI
LIBRI XII (2026) 189-207
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.23756971
www.libridergi.org

The Cult of Zeus and the Possible Location of Its Sanctuary at Antiokheia Paralios

Antiokheia Paralios Kentinde Zeus Kültü ve Kutsal Alanının Olası Yeri

Mehmet OKTAN *

Mehmet TEKOC AK **

Abstract: Although various cults are attested at Antiokheia Paralios, commonly known as Antiochia ad Cragum, the precise locations of their sanctuaries remain largely uncertain. Three newly discovered honorific inscriptions from the city provide further evidence for the previously attested cult of Zeus. One inscription honours an individual named Neon, who served as a priest of Zeus, while the preserved text and epigraphic context of the other two likewise point to the priesthood of Zeus. Since two of these inscriptions were discovered within the *temenos* of the structure known as the Peristyle Temple, this structure can now be associated with the cult of Zeus and regarded as a strong candidate for the location of his sanctuary. This proposal provides a new basis for reconsidering the possible spatial organization of the epigraphically attested cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma, as well as their relationship with the cult of Zeus.

Keywords: Antiokheia Paralios, Rough Cilicia, Zeus, Cult of the Augusti, Cult of Dea Roma, Antiokhos IV

Öz: Yaygın olarak Antiochia ad Cragum adıyla bilinen Antiokheia Paralios kentinde çeşitli kültlerin varlığı belgelenmiş olsa da bunlara ait kutsal alanların konumları büyük ölçüde belirsizliğini korumaktadır. Kentte ele geçen üç yeni onurlandırma yazıtı, daha önce de belgelenmiş olan Zeus kültüne ilişkin yeni veriler sunmaktadır. Yazıtlardan biri, Neon isimli bir kişinin Zeus rahibi olarak onurlandırıldığını belgelerken, diğer ikisinde de korunmuş metin ve epigrafik bağlam aynı rahiplik görevine işaret etmektedir. Bu yazıtlardan ikisinin Peristylli Tapınak olarak bilinen yapının *temenos* alanında ele geçmiş olması, söz konusu yapının Zeus kültüyle ilişkilendirilmesine ve Zeus kutsal alanının konumu açısından güçlü bir aday olarak değerlendirilmesine olanak sağlamaktadır. Bu öneri, kentte epigrafik olarak belgelenen Augustuslar ve Dea Roma kültlerinin olası mekânsal organizasyonlarının yanı sıra bunların Zeus kültüyle olan ilişkilerini yeniden değerlendirmek için de yeni bir çerçeve sunmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Antiokheia Paralios, Dağlık Kilikia, Zeus, İmparatorlar Kültü, Dea Roma Kültü, Antiokhos IV

Introduction

Following the death of king Antiokhos III of Commagene in 17 CE, the kingdom was annexed by Rome despite the survival of a son of the same name. Following the annexation, the young Antiokhos was sent to Rome together with his sister Iotape, and continued to reside there. Gaius Iulius Antiokhos, who also held Roman citizenship, developed a close relationship with Caligula during this period¹. When Caligula became emperor in 37 CE, this personal relationship had

* Dr., Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures, Antalya, Türkiye. mehmetoktan@akdeniz.edu.tr | 0000-0003-2968-8497

** Prof. Dr., Selçuk University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Archaeology, Konya, Türkiye. mtekocak@yahoo.com | 0000-0002-6923-4230

¹ Cass. Dio 59.24.1. See also Facella 2005, 232; Kropp 2013, 380.

political consequences: Antiokhos was not only restored to his ancestral kingdom, but also granted additional territories in Rough Cilicia². In connection with this restoration, Suetonius refers to the exceptionally large sum of 100 million sesterces associated with taxes and other revenues accruing during the intervening period³. It cannot, however, be established with certainty whether this substantial sum passed into Antiokhos' possession or, if it did, under what financial arrangement. Caligula's rapid depletion of the financial reserves inherited from Tiberius subsequently led him to adopt new measures aimed at increasing revenues⁴. In the course of this process, the territories granted to Antiokhos were taken back, while the property of numerous individuals was also confiscated⁵.

The proclamation of Claudius as emperor following Caligula's death brought an end to the uncertainty surrounding Antiokhos' political position. Claudius once again recognized Antiokhos' authority over the kingdom inherited from his father and restored to his rule the territories in Rough Cilicia⁶ that Caligula had previously granted him. The fate of the 100 million sesterces mentioned by Suetonius, however, remains unknown. Given the financial circumstances of the period, it is noteworthy that Claudius, who inherited a depleted treasury, nevertheless restored Antiokhos, who possessed considerable dynastic wealth⁷, to control over an extensive realm. This decision may be understood within the framework of a pragmatic policy in which Claudius prioritized political stability in the eastern provinces over immediate fiscal concerns. Within this restored political environment, Antiokhos played an active role in urbanization and building activities in Rough Cilicia⁸ until Vespasian incorporated Cilicia in its entirety into a province. The financial resources through which these activities were funded cannot be determined with certainty. If some portion of the sum in question came into Antiokhos' possession, it may have contributed to the financing of urbanization and building activities in the newly acquired territories of Rough Cilicia. Nevertheless, the fact that toward the end of his long reign Antiokhos was distinguished by his substantial inherited wealth and

² Cass. Dio. 59.8.2; Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 19.276. See also Suet. *Cal.* 16.3; Tac. *ann.* 12.55; Cass. Dio 60.8.1. For the territories under Antiokhos' rule, see Jones 1971, 204 and 211; Paltiel 1991, 203; Lenski 1999, 420 and 435; Dmitriev 2000, 366-370; Elton 2002, 175; 2007, 26-27; Borgia 2013, 89-95; Adak 2023, 139-141.

³ Suet. *Cal.* 16. Suetonius states that, when restoring kingdoms, Caligula also added the tax proceeds and other revenues accruing during the intervening period, citing Antiokhos of Commagene and 100 million sesterces that had been confiscated. A. A. Barrett (1989, 222) interprets this sum as the taxes and other revenues accumulated from Commagene during the approximately twenty years following the death of Antiokhos' father. See also Facella 2005, 235. E. Borgia (2013, 89) interprets the sum as arrears of uncollected taxes together with interest.

⁴ Suet. *Cal.* 38-42.

⁵ Cass. Dio 59.22.3-4; 59.25.1; 59.28.8-11; 60.8.1; Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 19.276. For his attempts and fiscal policy, see also Barrett 1989, 228-229.

⁶ For this process, see Cass. Dio 60.8.1-3; Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 19.274-277.

⁷ For the enormous ancestral wealth of Antiokhos IV, see Tac. *hist.* 2.81; Ios. *Bel. Iud.* 5.461.

⁸ See also Borgia 2013, 91; Pilhofer 2018, 30; 2020, 91; Adak 2023, 139.

described as the wealthiest of Rome's dependent kings⁹ suggests that his economic strength cannot be explained solely in terms of either the 100 million sesterces mentioned in connection with Caligula or the long-established wealth of his dynasty. That he was able to maintain this strong financial position despite the expenditures required by approximately three decades of urbanization and building activities also suggests that Antiokhos possessed the political and administrative capacity to derive regular revenues from the economic resources of the territories under his rule.

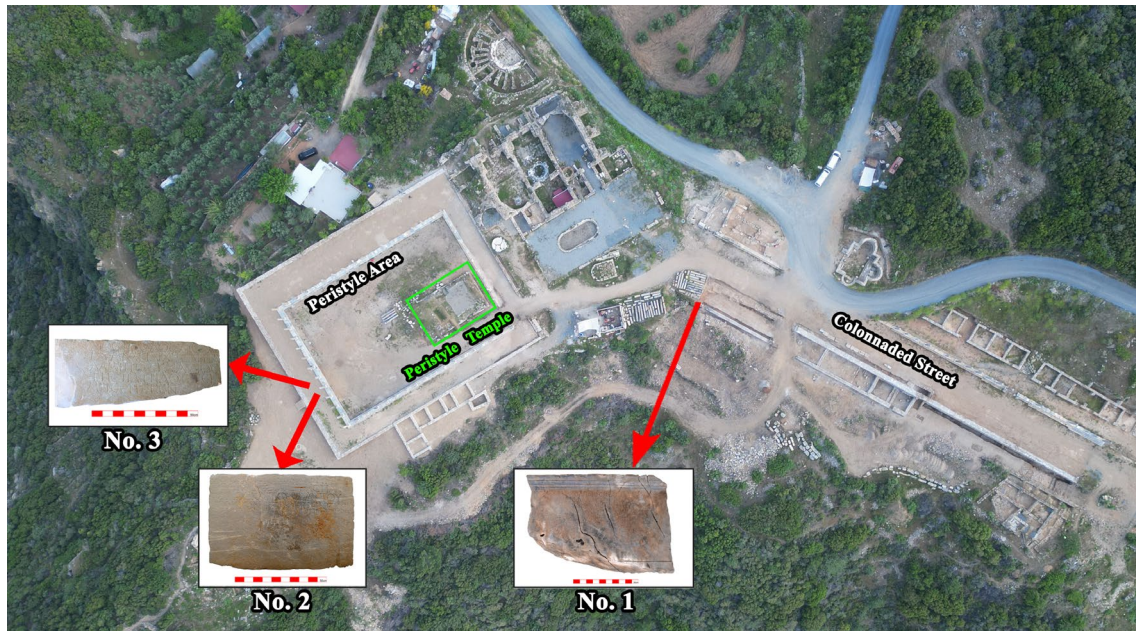


Fig. 1. Findspots of the inscriptions

The tangible manifestations of this economic and administrative capacity in Rough Cilicia can be observed in the king's urbanization and building activities throughout the region¹⁰. One of the settlements in which these activities can be most clearly traced is Antiokheia Paralios¹¹, a city bearing the king's own name. Compared with other settlements in the region, the fact that the city bore the king's name may indicate that Antiokheia occupied a special place within his urbanization policy. In this respect, the assessment of the sacred spaces established during the city's early phase of development is of particular importance. Indeed, three new honorific inscriptions discovered during excavations conducted by the Coordinator Excavation Directorate

⁹ Tac. *hist.* 2.81. See also Barrett 1989, 222.

¹⁰ The other cities known to have been founded by Antiokhos in the vicinity of Antiokheia are Iotape, named after his sister-wife, and Iuliosebaste founded on the site of Nephelis/Nephelion, see Adak 2023, 141. For the identification of Iuliosebaste with Nephelis see also Ramsay 1890, 449-450; Karamut & Russell 1999, 366-367. For the location of the city, see also AE 2009, 1533; SEG LII 1464.

¹¹ Although the city is generally known as Antiochia ad Cragum, the name Antiokheia Paralios (Antiochia Maritima) is preferred in this study, as it is attested in Roman-period coin legends and inscriptions reflecting the city's official identity. For the designation Ἀντιόχεια Παράλιος, see BE 2021, 622 no. 452; Oktan & Tekocak 2025, 212 fn. 3.

at the site in 2024 provide new evidence concerning the religious topography of the city (Fig. 1). These inscriptions, which constitute the subject of the present study and concern individuals associated with the priesthood of Zeus, not only increase the body of epigraphic evidence for the presence of the cult of Zeus in the city but also, through the discovery of two of them within the *temenos* of the structure known as the Peristyle Temple, make it possible to reconsider the possible dedication of this structure in the context of the cult of Zeus.

Inscriptions

1. Honorific Inscription for Neon

The inscription, carved on a large limestone base, came to light during the 2024 fieldwork on the southern stylobate of the colonnaded street (Fig. 1), approximately 55-60 m from the structure identified as the Peristyle Temple, where it was reused in a secondary context. The five-line text is fully preserved (Fig. 2). Although the block is generally well preserved, its lateral and rear faces are less carefully finished, suggesting that in its original setting only its front face was exposed to view. The treatment of the upper surface indicates that the block was probably intended to serve as a statue base; however, no socket, dowel hole, or comparable traces of attachment indicating the presence of a statue were identified (Fig. 3).

Dimensions: H.: 74 cm; W.: 130 cm; D.: 40 cm; Lh.: 3-3.5 cm.

Inv. No: ANT24.SC.YZT.001

ὁ δῆμος Νέωνα Αἰσαρὰ-	
2 βολλου τοῦ Ἰνδου	<i>The people (honoured) Neon, son of Aksarabollas,</i>
ἱερασάμενον τοῦ Διὸς	<i>grandson of Indous, who served as priest of Zeus</i>
4 καὶ ἄρξαντα ἀμέμπτως,	<i>and held office blamelessly, as a mark of honour.</i>
τειμῆς ἕνεκεν.	

One of the personal names occurring in the κοινὸς τάφος inscription published by R. Heberdey & A. Wilhelm was read¹² as Αἰσαρβολλας¹³. Since the inscription itself could not be re-examined, this reading could not be verified directly. In the drawing, the letter in question resembles *chi*¹⁴ more closely than *zeta*, suggesting that the *zeta* in the name read as Αἰσαρβολλας¹⁵ may in fact be

¹² Heberdey & Wilhelm, *Kilikien*, 151 no. 256 line 7.

¹³ Heberdey & Wilhelm *Kilikien*, 151 no. 256 = IGR III 837 = Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 3 = Arnaoutoglou 2021, 84-85. The name is given in the publications either without an accent as Αἰσαρβολλας or with an accent as Ἀἰσαρβόλλας. For the name, see also Zgusta, *Personennamen*, 48; LGPN V/B, s.v. Αἰσαρβολλας. Since the personal name is of local origin, the unaccented form Αἰσαρβολλας has likewise been preferred here.

¹⁴ Heberdey & Wilhelm *Kilikien*, 151 no. 256 line 7.

¹⁵ The possibility that the letter interpreted as *chi* in the name in the new inscription may in fact be *zeta* cannot, of course, be entirely ruled out. However, the forms of *chi* in Αἰσαρβολλου in lines 1-2 and in ἄρξαντα in line 4 are identical. Moreover, an *alpha* can clearly be read after the rho.



Fig. 2. Honorific inscription for Neon (No. 1)



Fig. 3. Upper Surface of Inscription No. 1

a *chi*. Nevertheless, the majuscule drawing published by R. Heberdey & A. Wilhelm appears to reproduce the spacing between the letters faithfully. In particular, there is almost no space between the *rho* and *beta* to accommodate an *alpha*. Moreover, the possibility that an *alpha* was inserted between these two letters in ligature does not appear palaeographically plausible. In the new inscription, by contrast, the name of Neon's father can clearly be read as Αξαραβολλας. It may therefore be proposed that the name in the previously published inscription should be corrected at least to Αξαραβολλας. Furthermore, whereas Aksarabollas is the father of Neon in the new inscription, in the other inscription he is recorded as the son of Neon. The Neon mentioned in the two inscriptions may thus be the same individual, or at least a close relative belonging to the same family. The name Ινδους, recorded as that of Neon's grandfather in the new inscription, is also attested twice in the κοινὸς τάφος inscription. Although this name was

widely used in the region¹⁶, its occurrence may nevertheless be regarded as an additional element supporting a possible connection between the individuals of the two inscriptions.

The occurrence of the names Neon and Aksarabollas in both inscriptions, together with their different positions in the genealogical sequences, may also have chronological implications. If the individuals concerned belonged to successive generations of the same family, the new inscription, in which Neon is recorded as the son of Aksarabollas, may be earlier than the inscription published by R. Heberdey & A. Wilhelm, in which Aksarabollas is recorded as the son of Neon. The palaeographic features are likewise consistent with this possibility. Letter forms alone do not provide a secure criterion for dating; nevertheless, the use of the lunate *sigma* (C) and the differences in the form of *omega* suggest that the new inscription belongs to an earlier phase than the inscription published by R. Heberdey & A. Wilhelm. They proposed no date for their inscription, and its text provides no direct chronological indication. It is noteworthy, however, that despite the number of individuals recorded in this common grave inscription, none bears the *nomen* Aurelius or the name M. Aurelius. This onomastic feature may be regarded as an indication in favour of a date before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE. The same absence is observed in the new inscription. While this onomastic evidence may place both inscriptions broadly within a pre-212 context, the palaeographic differences between them appear to suggest that the new inscription is the earlier of the two. On this basis, a date in the second half of the second century CE may be proposed for the new inscription.

2. Honorific Inscription for N.N.

The inscription, carved on a limestone block, was uncovered during the 2024 fieldwork within the *temenos* of the structure known as the Peristyle Temple (Fig. 1). The upper surface of the inscribed block (Fig. 4) shows no traces of fracture. Distinct cut marks are visible on the upper surface of the square block, while the letters in the first preserved line remain entirely intact. This suggests that the text was either originally carved across two superimposed blocks, or that a single block was subsequently cut between two lines of text, with the lines possibly serving as guides for a straight cut. No dowel or clamp holes were identified on the upper surface of the block. As with the preceding inscription, the lateral and rear faces of this block are less carefully finished, suggesting that it may originally have been positioned with only its front face exposed to view. Considering the physical characteristics of the block and the honorific formula attested in the inscription for Neon, particularly the sequence identifying the honorand, his ancestry, and his priesthood of Zeus, it is plausible that the missing upper portion originally contained approximately two or three lines of text. The preservation of τοῦ Διός at the beginning of the

¹⁶ The name is given in the publications both with and without an accent, as Ἰνδου or Ἰνδους, see Heberdey & Wilhelm *Kilikien*, 151 no. 256; IGR III 837; Zgusta, *Personennamen*, 201; Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 34 AntK 3; Arnaoutoglou 2021, 84-85. The name is also frequently attested in the cities of the region, see LGPN V/B, s.v. Ἰνδους.

surviving text is consistent with the restoration of ἱερασάμενον in the preceding line. Although the original arrangement of the missing text cannot be established with certainty, the proposed three-line restoration offers a plausible reconstruction of the opening formula. The name of the body responsible for the honour may also have appeared in the missing upper portion of the inscription.

Dimensions: H.: 45 cm; W.: 67 cm; D.: 23-24 cm; Lh.: 3-3.5 cm.

Inv. No: ANT24.PA.YZT.002



Fig. 4. Honorific Inscription for N.N.

- 01 [ὁ δῆμος τὸν δεῖνα]
 02 [τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος]
 03 [ἱερασάμενον]
 τοῦ Διὸς μεγαλοπρε-
 2 πῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς πα-
 τρίδος καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
 4 γονέων, τειμῆς ἔνεκεν.

[The people (honoured) N.N., son of N.N., grandson of N.N., who served as priest] of Zeus magnificently and in a manner worthy of his homeland and his own parents, as a mark of honour.

The inscription contains no evidence that permits a precise date. Nevertheless, on the basis of the palaeographic characteristics of the letters, particularly the form of the *omega*, the inscription may be dated to the second half of the second century CE.

3. Honorific Inscription for N.N.

The inscription, carved on a limestone block (Fig. 5), was discovered during the 2024 fieldwork within the *temenos* of the structure known as the Peristyle Temple (Fig. 1). The upper surface of the block is neatly cut and shows no traces of breakage. As with the second inscription, no dowel or clamp holes were observed on the upper surface. The physical characteristics of the block and the state of preservation of the inscription closely resemble those of the second inscription. Neither the name of the honorand nor that of the honouring body has been preserved. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two inscriptions, both in their surviving texts and in the physical characteristics of the blocks, suggest that the restoration proposed for the second inscription, together with the observations concerning its original arrangement, may also be largely applicable to the present inscription. Accordingly, as with the second inscription, the text may originally have been inscribed either on two superimposed blocks, with its opening section on the upper block, or on a single block that was subsequently cut between two lines of text.

Dimensions: H.: 16-38 cm; W.: 100 cm; D.: 20-30 cm; Lh.: 3-3.5 cm.

Inv. No: ANT24.PA.YZT.001

01 [ὁ δῆμος τὸν δεῖνα]

02 [τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος]

03 [ἱερασάμενον τοῦ]

Διὸς φιλοδόξως καὶ

2 γυμνασιαρχήσαντα

λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀξίως

4 τῆς πατρίδος, τει-

μῆς ἔνεκεν.

[The people (honoured) N.N., son of N.N., grandson
of N.N., who served as priest of] Zeus with
distinction and served as gymnasiarkhos splendidly
and in a manner worthy of his homeland, as a mark
of honour.

The restoration of ἱερασάμενον τοῦ before the preserved Διὸς is supported not only by the parallel honorific formula attested in the inscription for Neon, but also by the syntactic structure of the surviving text. In particular, the participle γυμνασιαρχήσαντα is consistent with the interpretation that the inscription recorded both religious and civic offices held by the honorand. The proposed restoration therefore provides a plausible interpretation of the reference to Zeus, although the precise wording of the missing section remains uncertain. The inscription thus provides further epigraphic evidence consistent with the presence of an established cult of Zeus in the city. Although the surviving text does not permit far-reaching conclusions, this inscription differs from the other inscriptions concerning the priesthood of Zeus in recording that the honorand also served as *gymnasiarkhos*. The *gymnasiarkhia* could entail financial obligations requiring the officeholder to draw upon his personal resources, and *gymnasiarkhoi* are also known to have played an active role in the organization of sacrifices,



Fig. 5. Honorific inscription for N.N.

festivals, and competitions in some cities. In this respect, the combination of the priesthood of Zeus and the *gymnasiarkhia* in the same individual raises the possibility that he may have contributed to the financing or organization of certain religious or public activities associated with the cult of Zeus¹⁷. Nevertheless, the available evidence is insufficient to establish a direct institutional relationship between the *gymnasiarkhia* and the priesthood of Zeus. Examples known from the cities of Asia Minor show that priesthoods and various civic offices could be held by the same individuals or by different members of the same family¹⁸. The combination of these offices attested at Antiokheia may therefore be understood not as a practice specific to the cult of Zeus, but rather as a reflection of a broader pattern of public service in cities of the Roman Imperial Period, in which religious and civic offices were held by individuals and families of the local elite.

The inscription contains no direct evidence that permits a precise date. Nevertheless, the

¹⁷ For a comparable example of the role that *gymnasiarkhoi* could play in the organization and financing of religious activities, particularly the sacrifices performed by Elpinikos of Eretria for Hermes, the competitions he organized in honour of Herakles, and his expenditures in connection with the Artemisia, see Curty 2015, 45-57.

¹⁸ For examples from the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia showing that individuals belonging to local elites, as well as different members of the same families, held various religious and civic offices, including priesthoods, see Adak 2020, 60-68.

palaeographic characteristics of the letters suggest that the inscription may date to the second half of the second century CE.

The Possible Location of the Sanctuary of Zeus

The discovery of two of the new inscriptions within the *temenos* of the structure known as the Peristyle Temple provides a new basis for reconsidering the location of the sanctuary of Zeus within the city. The urban and archaeological context of this area therefore warrants closer examination. Archaeological investigations conducted to date indicate that evidence relating to the early phases of the city is concentrated particularly in the *agora*¹⁹, the centre of public and commercial life. This may suggest that building activities in this area were associated with the foundation or early development of the city. Among the structures in the *agora*, a building situated within a *temenos* measuring approximately 60 x 40 m²⁰ is particularly noteworthy. Although different dimensions (13.80 x 9.00 m, 14.50 x 8.50 m, and 18.20 x 10.87 m²¹) have been reported for the structure in previous studies, it has been interpreted as a temple since the earliest investigations²² on the basis of its plan and architectural arrangement. However, its preservation only to the level of the stylobate and its apparently non-monumental character led subsequent studies to question this interpretation, with some suggesting that the building may not have functioned as a temple²³. The structure, now generally referred to as the “Peristyle Temple”²⁴, has not been directly associated with any particular deity or cult.

Against this background of uncertainty concerning the function and possible dedication of the structure, the find contexts of the new inscriptions are particularly significant. The second and third inscriptions were discovered within its *temenos*. Since it cannot be determined whether these inscriptions were found in their original positions, the possibility that they were brought to this area from elsewhere in a later period cannot be ruled out. However, the absence of a substantial concentration of *spolia* within the approximately 60 x 40 m *temenos* (Fig. 6), which might indicate the accumulation of architectural elements brought from other structures, makes this possibility less likely.

The present condition of the *temenos* may also support this interpretation. Apart from several

¹⁹ Erdemgil & Özoral 1975, 61. For the finds discovered in this area and thought to belong to the early imperial period, see Can & Hoff 2014, 377.

²⁰ Huber 1967, 18; Hoff *et al.* 2014a, 7; Can & Hoff 2014, 376.

²¹ For the dimensions of 13.80 x 9.00 m, see Huber 1967, 18; for 14.50 x 8.50 m, see Erdemgil & Özoral 1975, 59; and for 18.20 x 10.87 m, see Hoff *et al.* 2016a, 464; 2016b, 582.

²² Erdemgil & Özoral 1975, 59; *TIB* 5.1, 192; Hoff *et al.* 2006, 101; 2014a, 10; 2014b, 299. See also Huber 1967, 18; Hoff *et al.* 2016b, 582.

²³ Ch. Giobbe (2013, 137) states that there is no assurance that it was a sacred building. However, Giobbe (2013, 128) also notes that epigraphic evidence constitutes the primary evidence for determining the dedication of temples.

²⁴ Hoff *et al.* 2014a, 7-10; 2014b, 299; Can & Hoff 2014, 376-377.



Fig. 6. Possible location of the Zeus Temple

bases and fragments of columns and capitals, the architectural elements belonging to the structure have largely disappeared. This condition is more consistent with the dismantling of the structure in later periods and the reuse of its blocks in other buildings and areas of the city than with the accumulation of material brought into the *temenos* from elsewhere. In this context, it is particularly noteworthy that the two independent honorific inscriptions discovered within the *temenos* both concern individuals associated with the priesthood of Zeus. Although the findspots of the inscriptions do not in themselves demonstrate that the structure was dedicated to Zeus, their association with the same cult, together with the absence of a substantial accumulation of *spolia* in the area, suggests that the relationship between their contents and their find contexts may not be entirely coincidental. The structure's interpretation as a temple since the earliest investigations, based on its plan and architectural arrangement, and its prominent position in the *agora*, the focal point of the city's public life, should also be taken into account when assessing this spatial relationship. Thus, although the available evidence does not conclusively establish that the Peristyle Temple was dedicated to Zeus, it provides complementary epigraphic, archaeological, and topographical grounds for associating the structure with the cult of Zeus.

In assessing this proposed localization, it is also important to consider the earliest chronological evidence for the cult of Zeus in the city. On palaeographic grounds, G. E. Bean & T. B. Mitford dated the inscription containing the phrase ἱερασάμενον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τ[οῦ]

Δι]]ός to the pre-Severan period²⁵. T. B. Mitford subsequently proposed a date in the second century CE²⁶ for the same inscription. These dates suggest that the cult of Zeus had acquired an institutional character in the city by the second century CE at the latest. This chronological evidence is also relevant to evaluating the previously proposed location of the Temple of Zeus. The Northeast Temple, which has been associated particularly with Zeus Lamotes in previous studies²⁷, is generally dated to the late second or early third century CE²⁸. It is noteworthy, however, that neither the previously known inscription concerning the priesthood of Zeus nor any of the three new priesthood inscriptions identifies Zeus with the epithet Lamotes. The evidence that the priesthood of Zeus was already established in the city by the second century CE, together with the absence of the epithet Lamotes from the relevant inscriptions, suggests that the spatial organization of the cult of Zeus should also be considered independently of the Northeast Temple. This, in turn, increases the significance of the new epigraphic evidence discovered within the *temenos* of the Peristyle Temple for the proposed identification of the sanctuary. In light of the available evidence, the Peristyle Temple may therefore be regarded as a strong candidate for the location of the sanctuary of Zeus in the city. Nevertheless, the dates of the new priesthood inscriptions do not directly establish when the Temple was constructed. When the epigraphic and archaeological evidence associating the structure with the cult of Zeus is considered alongside its position within the early planning of the *agora*, it may be suggested that the origins of the sanctuary go back to the city's early phase of development. Although this cannot be established directly from the available evidence, the association of this early phase with the urbanization activities undertaken during Antiokhos IV's rule over Rough Cilicia (41-72 CE) raises the possibility that the sanctuary itself may have originated in this period.

The Possible Location and Organization of the Imperial Cult and the Cult of Dea Roma

The identification of the Peristyle Temple as a strong candidate for the location of the sanctuary of Zeus also makes it possible to reconsider the spatial organization of the epigraphically attested cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma in the city. The evidence for associating these cults with the Peristyle Temple, however, differs from the findspot evidence provided by the

²⁵ Bean & Mitford 1965, 34 no. 37.

²⁶ Mitford 1990, 2154.

²⁷ The building has particularly been associated with Zeus Lamotes, see Bean & Mitford 1970, 175; Robert & Robert 1972, 498; Mitford 1990, 2146; Nollé 2007, 194. See also Er Scarborough 2017, 50 fn. 494. J. Nollé also takes into account the epigraphic attestation of the cult of Zeus at Antiokheia, in particular the inscription recording an individual who held the priesthoods of both Augusti and Zeus.

²⁸ Hoff *et al.* 2008, 96; 2009, 6; 2013, 156; Erdoğan *et al.* 2020, 2; Dodd 2020, 51. However, Ch. Giobbe (2013, 137) states that the second half of the second century CE is also likely. Independently of the structure, J. Nollé (2007, 193) likewise dates the inscription, on the basis of its letter forms, to the late second century, but more probably to the early third century CE.

inscriptions concerning the priesthood of Zeus. The possible locations of the cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma should therefore be assessed primarily within the framework of their potential institutional relationship with the cult of Zeus and the religious topography of the city. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the honouring of an unnamed individual with the phrase *ιερασάμενον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τ[οῦ Δι]ός*. This expression indicates that the same individual served as priest of both the Augusti and Zeus. Similarly, the honouring of a certain Tallis for having served as priest of the Augusti with distinction (*ιερασάμενος τῶν Σεβαστῶν φιλοδόξως*)²⁹ demonstrates the institutional character of this cult in the city³⁰. Although the fact that the priesthoods of Zeus and the Augusti were held by the same individual does not in itself demonstrate that the two cults were practised within the same sanctuary, it suggests an institutional connection and raises the possibility of a spatial relationship between them³¹. Given that in cities of the Roman Imperial Period the cult of the Augusti could be associated with the sanctuary of the principal deity³², a comparable arrangement may also have existed at Antiokheia. In this context, the Peristyle Temple, regarded here as a strong candidate for the location of the sanctuary of Zeus, and its surroundings should also be considered when assessing the possible spatial organization of the cult of the Augusti. The evidence for Dea Roma is more limited. The honouring of the rhetorician Timokrates with a statue³³ in his capacity as priest of Dea Roma documents both the presence and the institutional character of the cult in the city, but provides no direct evidence concerning the location of the sanctuary in which this priesthood was exercised. Accordingly, the available epigraphic evidence does not permit the cult of Dea Roma to be directly associated with the Peristyle Temple or its *temenos*. Nevertheless, examples of the cult of Dea Roma being organized in association with local deities, particularly

²⁹ G. E. Bean & T. B. Mitford (1965, 35 no. 39), on the basis of the letter forms, suggest that the inscription should be dated to the first century or the early second century CE. T. B. Mitford (1990, 2154), however, dates the inscription to the early second century CE.

³⁰ See also Mitford 1990, 2154; Pilhofer 2006, 89 fn. 145. H. Elton (2002, 179) also states the temple of the imperial cult in Antiokheia as a possible example.

³¹ See also Nollé 2007, 194. Although the structure generally identified as the Northeast Temple has usually been proposed as the location where the imperial cult was practised in the city (Bean & Mitford 1965, 34; Hoff *et al.* 2006, 102; 2008, 96; 2009, 6; 2018, 11), the available evidence suggests that this identification should be reconsidered.

³² For the practice of the cult in the temple of a deity, particularly that of the principal deity, see Price 1984, 146–155; Burrell 2004, 324–327. See also Kropp 2009, 101.

³³ G. E. Bean & T. B. Mitford (1965, 34 fn. 36) state that the inscription was built into the terrace wall supporting the street. However, the inscription has received relatively little attention and has only rarely been discussed. Consequently, no detailed consideration has been given to the cult of Dea Roma in this context. For the inscription, see also Robert & Robert 1967, 552 fn. 623; Mellor 1975, 88 and 181 fn. 1; Puech 2002, 465 fn. 254; Akgün Kaya 2017, 222. B. Puech (2002, 465) dates the inscription to the first or second century CE. However, the letter forms recorded by G. E. Bean & T. B. Mitford (1965, 34) suggest that it should more probably be dated at least to the second half of the second century CE. T. B. Mitford (1990, 2154) likewise assigns it to the later second century. Cf. Mellor 1975, 88.

Zeus³⁴, together with the apparent institutional connection between the cults of Zeus and the Augusti at Antiokheia, raise the possibility that the cult of Dea Roma may likewise have formed part of the same religious setting.

The use at Antiokheia of the collective Σεβαστῶν rather than the name of a specific emperor does not permit the date at which the cult was established to be determined. Nevertheless, this usage may indicate that a more inclusive cult of the Augusti, representing the Roman imperial dynasty rather than a single emperor, had been organized in the city³⁵. Other settlements formerly under the rule of Antiokhos IV provide useful comparative evidence for the development of the imperial cult in the region. Imperial cults associated with Vespasian and his sons are also attested at Lamos³⁶ and Kestros³⁷. The political and cultural position of Antiokhos IV should also be taken into account when considering the development of the imperial cult in the city. Having spent a significant part of his life in Rome and bearing the titles *Philokaisar* and *Philorhomaioi*, the king maintained a close relationship with the Roman political order and imperial ideology, and this relationship may also have been reflected in the civic and religious organization of the cities under his rule. The naming of Nephelis, immediately west of Antiokheia, as Iuliosebaste³⁸ likewise provides a comparative example of the incorporation of elements associated with Rome and the imperial dynasty into urban identities in the region. Within this context, the attestation of both the cult of the Augusti and that of Dea Roma at Antiokheia, a city bearing the name of Antiokhos IV, whose kingdom had been restored by decisions of Roman emperors, suggests that the king's close relationship with Rome and the imperial dynasty, as well as his political loyalty to Rome, may also have found expression in the religious organization of the city. Although the available epigraphic evidence does not permit the establishment of these cults to be dated directly to the reign of Antiokhos IV, considering this evidence together with the king's close political and cultural ties with Rome raises the possibility that the cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma formed part of the city's early religious organization³⁹. The limited

³⁴ For the organization of the cult of Dea Roma in association with local deities, particularly Zeus in the East, see Mellor 1975, 128-130.

³⁵ For the increasingly collective representation of the imperial dynasty in imperial cult, see Price 1984, 57-59. For the use of collective designations such as Sebastoi / Theoi Sebastoi, see Lozano 2007, 151.

³⁶ Bean & Mitford 1962, 208 no. 32; Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 15 no. 11; Elton 2002, 179. For a fragment discovered at Tüylü Asar near Lamos, and likewise dated to this period, see Mitford 1990, 2154.

³⁷ Bean & Mitford 1970, 157 no. 158 and 159; Hagel & Tomaschitz 1998, 148-149 no. 12 and 13; Elton 2002, 179. Domitianus' name does not appear in the inscription from Kestros.

³⁸ For Antiokhos' expression of honour through the naming of one of his settlements Iuliosebaste, see also AE 2009, 1533.

³⁹ For the different ways in which the cult of the Augusti could be organized according to local circumstances, see Price 1984, 65-77; Lozano 2011, 495-513. See also Lozano 2007, 188-193. T. B. Mitford (1990, 2155), however, notes that no imperial cult is attested in central Rough Cilicia before the establishment of the province in 72 CE and regards this absence as to be expected in territories formerly ruled by Antiokhos.

attestation of the cult of Dea Roma in Cilicia⁴⁰ makes the evidence from Antiokheia particularly noteworthy in this context. The topographical characteristics of Antiokheia are also significant for the spatial dimension of this possibility. In comparison with settlements such as Iuliosebaste, Iotape and Kestros, where the topography imposed greater constraints, Antiokheia possessed an urban layout more suitable for the planning of extensive public spaces and monumental structures.

Terminological evidence may also be taken into consideration when assessing the chronology of these cults. Although the titles ἀρχιερεύς / ἀρχιερέα associated with the imperial cult in the cities between Antiokheia and Kasai appear to become more common after the first century CE⁴¹, inscriptions securely dated to the first century more frequently employ the title ἱερεύς. Since ἱερασάμενος describes the exercise of a priesthood rather than constituting a specific priestly title, its occurrence in the inscriptions from Antiokheia cannot in itself provide a chronological indication. Nevertheless, it may be considered within the broader context of priestly terminology attested in the region. In conclusion, the available epigraphic evidence does not permit either the date of establishment of the cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma or their precise locations within the city to be determined directly. Nevertheless, when the proposed localization of the sanctuary of Zeus at the Peristyle Temple, the combination of the priesthoods of Zeus and the Augusti in the same individual, the attestation of the cult of Dea Roma in the city, and the regional parallels are considered together, it may be suggested that these cults were organized in relation to one another within the same religious setting. The location of the Peristyle Temple within a large *temenos*, immediately adjacent to the *agora* and at the centre of the city's public life, also provides a topographically suitable context for such a religious organization. Although the available evidence does not permit it to be determined with certainty whether this possible organization extended back to the city's early phase of development, Antiokhos IV's political and cultural relations with Rome provide an appropriate historical context within which such a possibility may be considered.

⁴⁰ The cult of Dea Roma is thus far attested only at Anazarbos and Antiokheia, see Dagron & Feissel 1987, 159 no. 99; Pilhofer 2006, 123 Q 13. For the role of the cult of Dea Roma in the eastern provinces as a religious expression of political relations with Rome, see Mellor 1975.

⁴¹ Only an inscription from Korakesion containing the expression “ἀρχιαρασάμενον (sic) τῷ Σεβαστῷ” has been dated to the first century CE, see Mitford 1990, 2154. In addition, an inscription from Syedra containing the expression “ἀρχι[ε]ρα[σ]άμ[ε]νον θεῷ Σεβαστῷ”, although of uncertain date, has been assigned to the Flavian period, see Mitford 1990, 2153. An inscription from Karallia, near Korakesion containing the expression [ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβ]αστῶν has been dated to the reign of Claudius. The expression in question, however, is restored, see Bean & Mitford 1970, 60 no. 32. For a list of inscriptions from neighbouring settlements containing the terms ἀρχιερεύς, ἀρχιερέα and ἱερεύς, see Mitford 1990, 2153-2154. See also Pilhofer 2006, 89 fn. 145.

Conclusion

The newly discovered inscriptions concerning the priesthood of Zeus significantly increase the epigraphic evidence for the presence of the cult of Zeus at Antiokheia. Since two of these inscriptions were discovered within the *temenos* of the Peristyle Temple, they also provide a new basis for reassessing the spatial organization of the cult within the city. The inscriptions and their find contexts support the association of the Peristyle Temple with the cult of Zeus and contribute to a reconsideration of the role of the *agora* in the city's early phase of development. The identification of the Peristyle Temple as a strong candidate for the location of the sanctuary of Zeus also provides a new framework for reassessing the possible locations of the cults of the Augusti and Dea Roma within the city, as well as the spatial and chronological relationship among these cults. The significance of the new inscriptions therefore extends beyond their contribution to the proposed association of the Peristyle Temple with the cult of Zeus. They also provide a basis for reconsidering the relationship between the cult of Zeus and that of the Augusti, as well as the possibility that the cult of Dea Roma formed part of the same religious setting. In this way, the new evidence makes it possible to reconsider both the religious topography of Antiokheia Paraliös and the process of its early monumentalization.

Acknowledgements

We are deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Michael. C. Hoff, Director of Antiochia ad Cragum Excavation, for kindly granting us permission to publish the honorary inscriptions examined in this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

- Adak M. 2020, "Pamphylia ve Pisidia'da Kent Eşrafı ve Resmi Unvanları". Eds. O. Tekin, Ch. H. Roosevelt & E. Akyürek, *Tarih Boyunca Anadolu'da Hayırseverlik, Birinci Uluslararası Suna & İnan Kırac Akdeniz Uygarlıkları Sempozyumu, 26-29 Mart 2019, Antalya*, 47-72.
- Adak M. 2023, "Cités, rois et Romains: nouveaux textes épigraphiques d'Asie Mineure / Cities, Kings and Romans: New Epigraphic Texts from Asia Minor". *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques* 154 (2022-2023), 136-145.
- Akgün Kaya E. 2017, "İkinci Sofistik Dönem, Sofist, Retor ve Filozofların Dini Görevleri". *Cedrus* 5, 217-239.
- Arnaoutoglou I. N. 2021, "Socii Monumenti in Roman Cilicia?". Eds. I. E. Tzamtzis, P. Antonopoulos & Ch. Stavrakos, *APETHN THN KAAΛIETHN: Mélanges en l'honneur de Kalliopi A. Bourdara*. Athens, 79-124.
- Barrett A. A. 1989, *Caligula, The Corruption of Power*. London.
- Bean G. E. & Mitford T. B. 1962, "Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia". *AnatSt.* 12, 185-217.
- Bean G. E. & Mitford T. B. 1965, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*. Wien.
- Bean G. E. & Mitford T. B. 1970, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*. Wien.
- Borgia E. 2013, "The Rule of Antiochus IV of Commagene in Cilicia: a reassessment". Eds. M. C. Hoff & Rh. F. Townsend, *Rough Cilicia, New Historical and Archaeological Approaches, Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*. Oakville, 87-99.
- Burrell B. 2004, *Neokoroi, Greek Cities and Roman Emperors*, Leiden.
- Can B. & Hoff M. C. 2014, "Antiochia ad Cragum, Batı Dağlık Kilikya'da Bir Roma Kenti ve Kazıları". Eds. H. Kasapoğlu & M. A. Yılmaz, *Anadolu'nun Zirvesi'nde Türk Arkeolojisinin 40 Yılı*. Ankara, 373-393.
- Curty O. 2015, *Gymnasiarchika, Recueil et analyse des inscriptions de l'époque hellénistique en l'honneur des gymnasiarques*. Paris.
- Dagron G. & Feissel D. 1987, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*. Paris.
- Dmitriev S. 2000, "Observations on the Historical Geography of Roman Lycaonia". *GRBS* 41, 349-375.
- Dodd E. K. 2020, *Roman and Late Antique Wine Production in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Comparative Archaeological Study at Antiochia ad Cragum (Turkey) and Delos (Greece)*. Summertown.
- Elton H. 2002, "The Economic Fringe: The Reach of the Roman Empire". Eds. L. de Blois & J. Rich, *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire, Proceedings of the second Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476) Nottingham, July 4 - 7, 2001*. Amsterdam, 172-184.
- Elton H. 2007, "Geography, Labels, Romans, and Kilikia". Eds. H. Elton & G. Reger, *Regionalism in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Bordeaux, 25-33.
- Er Scarborough Y. 2017, *The Funerary Monuments of Rough Cilicia and Isauria*. Oxford.
- Erdemgil S. & Özorak F. 1975, "Antiochia ad Cragum". *TAD* 38, 55-71.
- Erdoğan E., B. Pulatsu, A. Gaggioli & M. C. Hoff 2020, "Reverse Engineering a Fully Collapsed Ancient Roman Temple through Geoarchaeology and DEM". *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 15/12, 1-21.
- Facella M. 2005, "Coinage and the Economy of Commagene (First Century BC-first Century AD)". Eds. S. Mitchell & C. Katsari, *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*. Swansea, 225-251.
- Giobbe Ch. 2013, "Roman Temples in Rough Cilicia: a Diachronic Analysis". Eds. M. C. Hoff & Rh. F.

* Abbreviations of epigraphical editions and reference works follow the "Liste des abréviations des éditions et ouvrages de référence pour l'épigraphie grecque alphabétique (GrEpiAbbr – Version 03, Septembre 2024)" developed by the Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine.

- Townsend, *Rough Cilicia, New Historical and Archaeological Approaches, Proceedings of an International Conference Held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*. Oxford, 128-144.
- Hagel S. & Tomaschitz K. 1998, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften: Nach den Scheden der kleinasiatischen Kommission der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Wien.
- Hoff M. C., B. Can, Rh. F. Townsend, E. Erdoğan & T. Howe. 2016a, "The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project, 2014 Season". *AST* 33/2, 463-476.
- Hoff M. C., B. Can, Rh. F. Townsend, E. Erdoğan & T. Howe. 2016b, "The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project, 2014 Season". *KST* 37/3, 581-595.
- Hoff M. C., B. Can, Rh. F. Townsend, T. Howe, A. Kızırlarlanoglu & G. Dobos. 2018, "Antiochia ad Cragum 2016 ve 2017 Yılları Kazı Çalışmaları". *Anmed* 16, 1-14.
- Hoff M. C., Rh. F. Townsend & B. Can. 2013, "The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project, 2012 Season". *Anmed* 11, 154-163.
- Hoff M. C., Rh. F. Townsend & E. Erdoğan. 2006, "The Rough Cilicia Archaeological Project, 2005 Season". *Anmed* 4, 99-104.
- Hoff M. C., Rh. F. Townsend, & E. Erdoğan. 2009, "The Antiocheia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project: Northeast Temple, 2008 Season". *Anmed* 7, 6-12.
- Hoff M. C., Rh. F. Townsend, B. Can & E. Erdoğan. 2014a, "The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project in 2013". *Anmed* 12, 6-13.
- Hoff M. C., Rh. F. Townsend, E. Erdoğan & S. Türkmen. 2008, "The Antiocheia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project: Northeast Temple 2007". *Anmed* 6, 95-100.
- Hoff M., Rh. F. Townsend, B. Can & E. Erdoğan. 2014b, "The Antiochia ad Cragum Archaeological Research Project, 2013 Season". *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 36/3, 295-307.
- Huber G. 1967, "The Sites and their Principal Buildings". Eds. E. Rosenbaum, G. Huber & S. Onurkan, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia, Preliminary Report*. Ankara 1-47.
- Jones A. H. M. 1971, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford.
- Karamut İ. & Russell J. 1999, "Nephelis: a Recently Discovered Town of Coastal Rough Cilicia". *JRA* 12, 355-371.
- Kropp A. J. M. 2009, "King - Caesar - God, Roman Imperial Cult Among Near Eastern Client Kings in the Julio-Claudian Period". Hgs. M. Blömer, M. Facella & E. Winter, *Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten, Kontexte und Perspektiven*. Stuttgart 99-150.
- Kropp A. J. M. 2013, "Crowning the Emperor an unorthodox image of Claudius, Agrippa I and Herod of Chalkis". *Syria* 90, 377-389.
- Lenski N. 1999, "Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria from the 1-st Century BC to the 6-th Century AD". *JESHO* 42, 413-465.
- Lozano F. 2007, "Divi Augusti and Theoi Sebastoi: Roman Initiatives and Greek Answers". *The Classical Quarterly* 57/1, 139-152.
- Lozano F. 2011, "The Creation of Imperial Gods: Not Only Imposition Versus Spontaneity". Eds. P. P. Iossif, A. S. Chankowski & C. C. Lorber, *More than Men, Less than Gods, Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship*. Leuven, 475-520.
- Mellor R. 1975, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*. Göttingen.
- Mitford T. B. 1990, "The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia". *ANRW* II 18/3, 2131-2160.
- Nollé J. 2007, *Kleinasiatische Losorakel: Astragal- und Alphabetchresmologien der hochkaiserzeitlichen Orakelrenaissance*. München.
- Oktan M. & Tekocak M. 2025, "The Themis Leonideios in the Light of a New Inscription". *Libri* XI, 211-233.
- Paltiel B. 1991, *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire, Julio-Claudian Policies in Judaea and the Kingdoms of the*

East. Bruxelles.

Pilhofer Ph. 2018, *Das frühe Christentum im kilikisch-isaurischen Bergland, Die Christen der Kalykadnos-Region in den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten*. Berlin & Boston.

Pilhofer Ph. 2020, "Die Geschichte des ‚Rauhen Kilikien‘ unter den Römern". *Klio* 102/1, 71-120.

Pilhofer S. 2006, *Romanisierung in Kilikien? Das Zeugnis der Inschriften*. München.

Price S. R. F. 1984, *Rituals and Powers: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge.

Puech B. 2002, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*. Paris.

Ramsay W. M. 1890, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. London.

Robert J. & Robert L. 1967, "Bulletin épigraphique". *REG* 80/379-383, 453-573.

Robert J. & Robert L. 1972, "Bulletin épigraphique". *REG* 85/406-408, 364-526.

TIB 5.1 Hild F. & Hellenkemper H. 1990, *Kilikien und Isaurien, 1. Teil (TIB 5)*. Wien.